CHRISTIAN NEWS-LETTER

Edited by JOHN LAWRENCE
for the CHRISTIAN FRONTIER COUNCIL

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★ *In this issue*
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The Christian Frontier Council, under whose auspices this journal is published, is a fellowship of 30 or 40 lay men and women who hold responsible positions in secular life and have met regularly for the past eleven years to explore with each other the practical implications of their faith. They include members of all denominations. From time to time the Council forms specialised groups to deal with subjects such as politics, medicine or education. The Council does not seek publicity, but on appropriate occasions the substance of its discussions will be made known in this journal. The Editor is solely responsible for what is published in "Christian News-Letter".

CHRISTIAN NEWS-LETTER

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CHRISTIAN NEWS-LETTER

From the Editor

Peace and War

Eisenhower looked grim as he left Truman after his first interview since the elections. All of us feel something of the burden which is carried by the President of America and we can sympathise with his cares. It is natural to hope that war is now becoming so terrible that no one will dare to start a world war, but fear is an uncertain counsellor and if either side were sure that they had a temporary technical advantage which promised a quick knock-out it would be tempting to use this advantage. The Kremlin would hardly hesitate to do so if they saw their chance, but Russia is still a long way behind America in industrial output and technical efficiency. It is true that the Soviet Union is going ahead fast but it may well be that America is going still faster. There is no particular reason to expect another war in the near future, but looking a few years ahead there are many reasons for fear.

President Eisenhower has a respite in which to look for a settlement with Russia and China, but it is not easy for him to use this respite in the right way. He will not be tempted to seek a decision by war—as a soldier he knows too well what war means—but how can the cold war be settled peacefully at its present stage? Russian feelings for the West are compounded of hatred, suspicion and admiration while many of us have feelings for Russia made up of incomprehension and suspicion merging into hatred. This has produced a degree of fear on their side (and on ours) which makes negotiation almost impossible for the time being. But in an uncertain future the one certainty is that whatever does happen will not be what we expect. A chance to make real peace may never come or it may come quite unexpectedly; and then we must be ready for it.

Hidden forces are working in the Communist World and not all of those forces are evil. Human beings are easily led astray but human nature does not easily become utterly corrupt. And Russia has been Christian for a thousand years. Stalinism was born of hunger and

want and crisis. The hectic striving of modern Communism comes from insecurity. But Russia is slowly moving out of poverty. (The most reliable and up-to-date account of the stage which she has now reached is in Michel Gordey's book reviewed on another page.) And as Russians grow sleek they will feel safer and it may be that a more placid attitude will spread from ruled to rulers. This is music of the future and, if these things do come to pass, they will not come quickly; but the possibility that such things may happen is one reason why we are right to play for time.

The Weak and the Strong

It has been said more in earnest than in jest that the American presidential elections are unfair because Europeans are not allowed to vote, though their standard of living, their political future and their chances of life or death are greatly affected by the result. If Europeans had, in fact, been able to vote they would very likely have returned President Eisenhower by a large majority, for he has many friends here, but that does not diminish the resentment against America which makes Britons grumble and often rouses continentals to fury. There is no sufficient rational ground for this resentment but that is not the point.

In the last ten years America has produced big men for big tasks. World power has been suddenly thrust on a country which had little experience of international responsibility and no training in the exercise of power. America has made her mistakes like the rest of us but in most things she has risen to the occasion in ways that none of us would have dared to hope. She has faced her responsibilities in the maintenance of peace and in the fight against world poverty with enlightened self interest; and she has generally relied on persuasion to get her way with the other countries of the free world, even if the fact of American power has been in the background of every discussion.

It is true that many Americans are arrogant, but they are certainly less arrogant than we were in our palmy days or indeed than most ruling races. It is true that very many Americans are superficial but our resentment against them for this is quite out of proportion to the offence. The fact is that many of us resent the Americans simply because we are at their mercy. We do not probably resent the loss of so much of our own power but we do resent being so completely in the power of another people. It is not only that American actions and American attitudes may start or prevent an atomic war in which we expect to be the first victims but perhaps still more that a few points up or down in the index of American business activity makes us richer

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or poorer by a process over which we have no control. And a perfectly proper American decision to buy more wool makes our clothes more expensive than we can afford, while an American decision to buy too little of something else may plunge our people into unemployment.

By looking at America it is possible for us to see something of how we ourselves look to those who depend on us. As conquerors go, no doubt, we have a good record, but that does not alter the fact that to Asia we have appeared as conquerors. We have preached justice and democracy and freedom and often we have practised what we preached; but to dependent peoples the hard fact has been apparent that when they wished to use their freedom in a way that was against our vital interests it was often our will that prevailed against theirs. During the war we did not scruple to change the government of independent Egypt in our own interests. We were probably right to do this, as things were at that moment, but we ought to realise what we did and how it looked to the Arab world. We have insisted that weaker countries should open their doors to our business men and we may often have been right to do so but in doing this we have turned upside down many millions of old fashioned lives and we cannot expect to be thanked for that.

Colonial politicians are often foolish and unreasoning in their resentment against the imperial race, but their bitter words generally appeal to colonial peoples, for it is always bitter to depend on others and it is trebly bitter when these others are of a different colour, language and civilisation. It is reasonable to appeal for co-operation from dependent peoples when what we are trying to do will, in fact, help them, but it is not reasonable to be surprised when they refuse to co-operate. And we cannot afford to think of those who depend on us as adolescents until our own attitude to the Americans upon whom we ourselves depend has become fully mature.

Human nature being what it is, everyone is tempted to cut off his nose to spite his face. It is human that we should resent being at the mercy of American power but it would be foolish to forget for one minute that we are in the same boat with the Americans. Without America we should have a hard task to maintain our independence against the Soviet Union. And for this reason it is one of the chief aims of Kremlin diplomacy to divide us from the Americans. The Soviet peace campaign serves this purpose even when its activities have no evident bearing on the danger of war. Russians are men of like passions with ourselves and we should never allow ourselves to think of them as ogres; but their philosophy bids them to use power without restraint in the interests of world revolution, which generally

coincide with the interests of Russian nationalism. But American power is subject to many self-imposed restraints which generally derive from Christianity even if their origin is not always recognised. So, while a true partnership between America and the rest of the free world must overcome many obstacles, it remains a necessary and a possible ideal.

The New Tower of Babel

We must oppose Communism. That is clear. But it is not so easy to state the reasons for this opposition. Communism is often denounced for its materialism. But is that really the point ? Russian materialism is very idealistic in its demands for altruism and self sacrifice; and it does not deny spiritual values but emphasises rather that they rest upon a material foundation. In the last resort the difference between materialism and idealism is a subtle question of philosophy which is bound up with what you pay the words to mean, and it would be quite possible for a fully orthodox Christian to be a materialist in metaphysics. Marx developed materialism in a direction which makes it utterly incompatible with Christianity, but that is not to say that his materialism was the root of his error.

The error of the Russian socialists is rather that they believe man to be capable of everything by himself and accordingly they set about building a new Tower of Babel. The Russian revolutionaries embrace their new beliefs with the blind faith of fundamentalists, so that it becomes treachery to the highest ideas even to question man's power to change his fate by himself. For them it has been an article of religious belief that the revolution embodies all man's striving for good; and therefore whatever the Revolution does is good and all crimes may be excused if they are done in the name of the Revolution. *Tantum religo potuit suadere malorum.*

In Marxism there is always a tension between that side of the doctrine, which potrays the coming of socialism as the working out of inexorable laws, and the revolutionary élan of the Marxists which draws its strength from the belief that man can do anything, if only he tries hard enough. In the late Stalinist period of Marxism the chief emphasis is put on the efforts that man must make and therefore on the results that he can achieve. Communism must be struggled for, but the Stalin plan for the changing of nature can make fertile provinces out of deserts; and what is more, with the help of Michurinist genetics it can make plants flourish wherever the development of the Soviet Union requires them to grow. The laws of nature are recognised when they seem to provide bricks for the Tower of Babel, but if it seems that the findings of science impede the will of the Communist Party, the

scientists must be saboteurs; the party founds its practice upon the only true science and everything that contradicts it must be false science.

Darwin portrayed evolution as the product of blind forces of natural selection, but Lamarck believed that a perpetual striving of the individual lay behind the progress of the species. Neo-Lamarckism is much nearer to current Soviet ideas and accordingly Darwin's credit has been going down fast in the Soviet Union, whereas Lamarck is hailed as a predecessor of Michurin and Lysenko.

In Russia most branches of the natural sciences are unaffected by the dogmas of Marxist scholasticism but in his own field Lysenko is going to extraordinary lengths, maintaining even that rye can and frequently does grow from wheat. And if rye from wheat, why not geese from barnacles ? Bad theory leads to bad practice; indeed, this is what the Marxists mean by the unity of theory and practice. At present his masters think that Lysenko is getting results, but how long can this last ? Prophecy is dangerous but there is more than a chance that within ten years Lysenko will have been executed for sabotage. In the meantime, Soviet farmers will suffer from the vagaries of this talented but overbearing and half-educated plant-breeder, and Soviet workers risk being short of food and clothing.

Easier Divorce or Harder Marriage?

The Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce has to make recommendations on problems which it is beyond the wit of man to solve. And its task is made doubly impossible by the fact that nothing that happens before marriage or at marriage is within its terms of reference. But the stability of marriages may often depend on what happens before. Should it be made harder to get married ? At present one can get married in three days with a special licence. A man with V.D. can marry an innocent girl. A woman can say she is 25 when she is 35 and marry a young boy. One can marry at 16 with one's parents' consent, or go to the magistrates to have one's parents overruled. It is not easy to say how the law should regard such things, and the Royal Commission's terms of reference do not contemplate its considering whether, e.g. a medical examination should be undergone before marriage and a birth certificate produced, or whether, when a couple first apply to the registrar, they should be presented with what has been called a " Highway Code for Marriage." The Churches have submitted most valuable evidence on pre-marital questions, but when the Commissioners come to report, it is not easy to see how they can deal with questions which are outside their terms

of reference. If, however, the Churches could make their own specific recommendations about pre-marital questions before the Royal Commission's report is published, Parliament would be helped to consider marriage and divorce in their essential connection with what goes before marriage. If this chance is missed, it may well be a generation before there is another occasion to influence legislation on these important matters.

And what can be done to bring home to people who want to get married the nature and consequences of marriage? Even the notice in the registrar's office saying that marriage is for life has only been there for three years. And one notice is not enough. Couples who want to get married in church should not be able to assume that the church will marry them unless they show a serious intention to enter into a Christian marriage.

Of late divorce has been getting easier. Is it not now time to make marriage harder?

African Accountants?

Educated Africans are often reprehended for flocking to the law and neglecting other professions, such as engineering and agricultural science, in which they might be more useful to their homeland. Accountancy is rightly considered one of the most valuable techniques of Europe, and Africans are rightly urged to become qualified accountants, but when an African in London wants to become a qualified accountant it is very difficult for him to find a firm which will take him on. Many firms would be ready to have African articled clerks if they could be reasonably sure that their clients would not object to their accounts being investigated by a coloured man. It is not right to blame the accountants for all the difficulty, but it is nonsense to expect Africans to rule themselves and develop their country unless they have a chance of learning a technique which lies at the base of all honest government and without which there can be neither industry nor social services. There are many men of goodwill and many good Christians among the accountants, who would like to solve this problem; they should be encouraged by the remarkable rise in the status of coloured doctors in this country. Thirty years ago a coloured doctor could scarcely hope to practice outside his own community, but today there are African doctors practising in town and country with deserved success and popularity. What has been done for doctors must now be done for accountants.

J. W. L.

Mau Mau

The Mau Mau movement is confined to the Kikuyu, a tribe of about a million out of five and a quarter million Africans in Kenya; it is important both in itself and as a type of what can happen when the 20th century hits the iron age. Today everyone knows of the Mau Mau, but six months ago very few people outside East Africa had heard of this anti-European secret society. By November 1951 those who know the Kikuyu most intimately " became aware of an uneasy feeling, of an impending coup d'état," but to Europeans and even to Africans who are not Kikuyu there was nothing to associate this with the Mau Mau.

Deep-seated passions have boiled over and it is idle to look for formal logic in the causes of this or to think that reason alone can supply a cure. Most of the Kikuyu are not feeling reasonable at present, and it is necessary to enter into their feelings if we are to be effective. In not much more than a generation Europeans, merely by living and working in Kenya, have brought all the problems of the 20th century to people as primitive as our own ancestors were in the days of Greece and Rome.

Before the White men came to Kenya there was plenty of room for all, because the population was kept down by war and disease, slave raiding and famine. When the Whites came they put down tribal war and slave raiding, and they brought modern medicine, modern transport and organisation to fight illness and hunger. So the people began to multiply and soon some tribes found themselves short of land. The first European settlers received vacant land from the Government. Later the Government appropriated for white settlement about one-tenth of the tribal lands, giving in exchange land elsewhere at the rate of about two acres for one. However, the Africans were not satisfied with the new land in less healthy areas which was given to them in exchange for their ancestral lands.

It is true that the settlers created great wealth in Kenya, that all races had a share in the benefits, and that the shortage of land and food is due to the British having suppressed tribal war and brought in modern medicine. It is also true that to distribute the land of settlers to Africans who are less efficient farmers would increase hunger and misery all round. That may justify the presence of the settlers in Kenya but it is not an effective answer to give to Africans. By tradition the Kikuyu know no life without land, it is one of their basic assumptions that each man must have some land and now there is not enough land

in the Reserve to go round, while a European may own hundreds or thousands of acres in the "White Highlands".

If he has no land, an African may go to Nairobi to seek his fortune, but there he will find something like ten thousand of his fellows living homeless in the streets. And if he is able and ambitious he may find that his race is a handicap in his own country. The traders are Indian, the administrators are British, and it is not easy for an African fresh from tribal life to make good in competition with Europeans and Indians. There may be little racial discrimination but there is much racial frustration and, while there is no legal colour bar, races do not as a rule mix in society and Africans can see that Europeans are habitually more polite to each other than they are to Africans. (And they see that in the legislative council 30,000 whites have fourteen delegates, while over five million blacks have only six.) So ambitious Africans, not finding an acceptable career open to their talents in Government or trade, turn naturally to the organisation of their own people.

Ituika?

A shrewd observer writes: " Mau Mau may be likened to a disease which has suddenly assumed epidemic proportions amongst the Kikuyu peasantry. For a long time it had been nurtured by people of malicious intent among the malcontent members of the amorphous Kikuyu society in the towns (notably Nairobi) and amongst similar members of the squatter community in the Rift Valley farming areas. It is rooted and grounded in hate—hatred of the European, hatred of Christianity, hatred of the British Government. By murder and arson it has planned to overthrow and eliminate all three. Its capacity to do so depended on its ability to unite first the malcontents, and then the large body of the Kikuyu tribe into an organisation pledged by solemn vows to these objectives regardless of consequence. Because its rites were secret the rising danger at first remained undetected." The Kikuyu are not ruled by hereditary chiefs but by a sort of nation-wide committee of men who have gained a local ascendency. This gives a chance to the ambitious. Every twenty years or so, as the men in power get past their prime, there is a cermeonial change-over to a younger age group. No one who is not a Kikuyu knows the magic ritual by which this change known as *ituika* is effected, but once it starts at one place it spreads all over Kikuyu land, taking several months to do this, while those who conduct the ceremony hold the rest of the tribe in terror. It is said that the Ituika men rob and rape at their will and it is certain that there is no redress against them. A

new Ituika is due about now, the period before an Ituika is always a time of unrest and it is a shrewd guess that those who want trouble have cashed in on this, but there is no certainty.

Poverty and primitive traditions make it hard for a black man to advance, the resulting gap between black, white and brown keeps the races apart; all the black man's frustration crystallises round his race; and dislike of white men is easily extended to the religion which they have brought. So race, poverty and religion have become intertwined in one vast problem. A missionary among the Kikuyu writes: " Most Africans believe that they are being deliberately held back by most Europeans from their right to the things which Europeans have. It is a common theory that some great Schemer sends out Government to hold them down, settlers to grab their land, missionaries to keep them quiet. Almost any tale against Europeans finds many who believe it."

Canon Bewes writes in the *East and West Review* for January:

" It is not that we Europeans have been wicked in Africa, but we have undeniably been unimaginative in our thinking, and desperately old-fashioned." And missionaries, like other Europeans, have sometimes been left behind by events. " We are no longer wanted as fathers of the African, and we have not quite learned how to be brothers."

The great breeding ground for Kikuyu malcontents has been the " Independent Schools " which began to appear rather more than twenty years ago, after the circumcision controversy. The initiation rites of the Kikuyu involve the barbarous mutilation of their women known as female circumcision. The churches refused to allow this among Christians and many baptised Kikuyus left the Church. So the Africans set up independent churches and schools for those who kept old tribal practices, such as polygamy and female circumcision.

But those new schools had no training centres for teachers, so most of their teachers had to be taken at first from among those whom the missions had discarded. Moreover, Kenya's school inspectors, having more schools to supervise than they can manage, have concentrated their attention on those schools which receive or hope to receive Government grants. So the independent schools grew up almost unsupervised and most of them have now become more concerned with politics than with education, and look to Jomo Kenyatta for quasi divine inspiration. In these schools parodies of Christian hymns are sung, putting Jomo in the place of Jesus, e.g., " Tell it out . . . Jomo saves "; and there is a parodied creed on the

same lines. And it would be wrong to depreciate the emotional force of these blasphemies. There are many good Christians among the Kikuyu and it may be that the emotions released by the East African " Revival " have also in devious ways stirred Africans who remain pagan. A special issue of the C.M.S. membership bulletin quotes the following:

" After our recent tour of the Kikuyu Reserve we have come to the conclusion that Mau Mau is the expression of something that is very deeply entrenched in many of the Kikuyu people. It goes deeper than anti-European feeling, deeper than a sense of grievance, though it feeds on these. It is a spiritual movement, albeit of the devil." " It may well be that non-Christians and semi-Christians, whilst not prepared to pay the price of putting off the works of darkness and walking in the light, yet envy the emotional release and joy of the Revival Christians. So they are seeking fulfilment in a fellowship of hatred and darkness on patriotic lines of returning to Kikuyu customs and witchcraft."

Resistance and Revival

Such is the background of Mau Mau. Its leaders are cruel, cynical and unscrupulous, but they have discovered how to appeal to the deepest feelings of their tribe. They compel men and women to take a seven-fold oath of hatred binding them to drive Europeans out of the country and not to attend missions or churches; and this oath is accompaned by the drinking of blood and reinforced with the most solemn and binding pagan ceremonies. To take the Mau Mau oath is to renounce Christianity; those who refuse are beaten and tortured, sometimes murdered and always ostracised. An observer already quoted writes : " Worse, I believe, even than the fear of violence, is the loneliness of being thought a traitor. . . . The appeal of the oath is to unity against an assumed enemy. 'Are you not a Kikuyu? Or are you a white man in a black skin? Join us. Unite.' And though you have to pay about £3 (or, in the case of those who have no money, promise to pay later), and though you are often beaten and dragged to the ceremony and take the oath because you are threatened—and it is no idle threat—with death, you do not usually, if you are a Kikuyu, resent what has happened. After all, it is good to stand together. These others must be traitors and quislings."

Great numbers of nominal Christians have fallen away, for the time at least, but a solid core have stood firm. Some are murdered, some are hanged until they are unconscious, and others are burnt inside their huts. The Church Missionary Society News-Letter for

December gives a typical instance: " On April 28th, one man who refused to take the oath was strung up by the neck. He said ' Let me die with Jesus.' They could only brand him as a traitor to his country and a disgrace to his tribe. They said: ' You can do nothing with such a fellow,' and let him go," after he had been cut down from the gallows. Men and women, boys and girls have been treated in the same way and have shown the same courage.

Such men and women nearly always come from the East African Revival movement which has already changed many lives, and may yet change East Africa. In other lands revival has often led to schism but in East Africa the revival has remained within the Church, as did, e.g., the Franciscan revival in the 13th century and the earlier Cluniac revival. It is sometimes said that nine tenths of the Kikuyu have taken the Mau Mau oath but that is a guess in the dark. There may be places where virtually everyone has taken the oath; in some places " you are either Mau Mau or you are converted and there is no one in between," that is to say, all nominal Christians in that area have given in, but those whose lives have been changed by the Revival stand out; in many districts congregations are down to one-tenth of what they were; in other areas a good headman, who will not always be a Christian, may have the situation in hand and people may have to go outside the district to take the oath. In at least one place the large number of the Christians and the fellowship that there is between them appear to have kept the oath-makers away. But no European and no leading African Christian can be sure that he has heard the whole truth. Some teachers have taken the oath—no one knows how many —and school attendance is right down in some places. But the schools keep going somehow.

In the past the Kikuyu have been left to police themselves with very little supervision. That this should have been possible for so long shows that British rule has been mild. But now substantial forces of police and soldiery, both black and white, have been brought into Kikuyu land. Disorder and terror must be put down firmly, but more than one impartial observer reports that the police have sometimes behaved badly, that in some places the people are more frightened of the police than they are of the Mau Mau, and that Christians and other respectable citizens have sometimes been beaten and treated as criminals. The police have a very difficult task; they must be supported in the performance of duties which are sometimes unpleasant, but " strong " measures defeat their own purpose, if the innocent suffer with the guilty. A missionary writes: " Soldiers and police are brought up tough and when they are in a foreign country they may lose all

restraint. But the leaders and the authorities are trying to restrain such outbursts both by black and white police and soldiers." Canon Bewes in the *East and West Review* writes: " Christian missionaries go unarmed, but immediately they hear of any incident, they hasten to the spot to comfort, help, advise."

Many people in Kenya have been struck by the contrast between the grisly struggle with powers of darkness and the ordinary way that life goes on. So far the Europeans have not lost their friendly feeling for loyal Africans. The European congregation of Nairobi Cathedral are helping the Kikuyu clergy; by the beginning of December they had already collected nearly a thousand pounds for them. And only a few months ago some Africans elsewhere in Kenya gave money to rebuild a little up-country English Church. " It was you," they said, " who brought us the Gospel, and we want to thank you." What is happening in Kenya is grim and disturbing but the picture is not wholly dark. Mau Mau is confined to the Kikuyu, who are only one tribe, and not all Kikuyu are Mau Mau at heart.

It is impossible to isolate one element of the East African problem from another. Educational advance cannot be considered apart from agricultural efficiency, scientific efficiency in agriculture cannot be considered in abstraction from the conditions of tribal agriculture, land tenure and soil erosion; the pressure of population on resources comes in everywhere; racial conflicts complicate and are complicated by everything else; nothing can be solved without a spiritual revolution, but the spiritual approach to every problem is affected by the problems of race, land, education and population at every stage. Sir Philip Mitchell, writing in *The Times* before his return to Kenya as a settler, has put the picture in its simplest terms: " It is a problem of human nature of men and women and children, of their needs and hopes and fears, of their relations with each other and with a world which for the vast majority is changing with a ruthless speed in ways totally beyond their experience. The central figures in all this are the African man and woman, emerging from the dark forest of superstition, sorcery, and ignorance. If the world appears to them to hold only hard-faced strangers in search of profits and dividends it is unlikely to appeal. If it appears as a welcoming, living Christian society, offering faith, hope, and charity, human friendliness, and sympathy, and fair opportunities for a better life, they will certainly turn to it with a new enthusiasm."

When law and order is restored, Christians will have to bear their share—and it is a large share—in rebuilding the life of the Kikuyu. Something better must be put in the place of the independent schools, and the scattered flocks of mission school and church must be gathered

again. In the meantime, the Kikuyu clergy and many lay Christians are reduced to dire poverty through the flight of their congregations. The churches in East Africa have not the resources to carry these burdens without help. But there are foundations to build on.

A missionary who is known for his exacting standards and his tendency to understatement writes that he has heard " tales of first century Christianity. . . . They really do believe in Jesus and are not afraid to die. Some do die. . . . Yet they are happy and at peace and triumphant, and not bitter. I have never seen anything like it before. Their witness cannot but tell as did that of the early Christians when persecuted."

The following Christian Missions are known to work among the Kikuyu:—

Church Missionary Society, 6 Salisbury Square, London, E.C.4.
Church of Scotland, Foreign Missions Committee, 21 George Street, Edinburgh.
Africa Inland Mission, 3 John Street, London, W.C.1.
The Salvation Army, Denmark Hill, London, S.E.5.
Consolata Mission (Italian Roman Catholic), Nyeri, Kikuyu Reserve, Kenya.
St. Augustine's Society (Irish Roman Catholic), St. Augustine's Mission, Nairobi, Kenya.
Methodist Missionary Society, 25 Marylebone Road, London, N.W.

THE LORD'S PRAYER

There is a continued demand for copies of PATER NOSTER, a meditation on the Lord's Prayer originally published as a supplement to "The Christian News-Letter" in January 1941. *A third impression is now ready.*

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". . . an attempt to translate into words of prayer some of the thought which has found expression in the News-Letter."

—C.N-L., No. 62

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Profile of Dulles

It is unusual for a President of the U.S.A. to appoint to the State Department a person so well qualified for the post as Mr. John Foster Dulles. Certainly no holder since John Hay has served so thorough an apprenticeship. Dulles worked with the League of Nations, was actively and responsibly involved in the big post-war conferences and was one of the midwives of the United Nations. He was also the principal architect of the peace treaty with Japan.

His main contribution to these affairs was been twofold. Firstly, he has insisted patiently and steadily on the bi-partisan conception of American foreign policy. This has meant that he has had to sustain the difficult double role of a mediator and a moderator. Secondly, he has been the tutor and mentor of others less well versed than himself in the intricacies of international policies. Thus he was the constant adviser of the late Senator Vandenberg.

Dulles, who is by profession a lawyer and a partner in the well-known New York firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, has now achieved what may be presumed to be his honourable ambition. He is Secretary of State in Eisenhower's administration.

The son of a Presbyterian minister, he is well-known to many for the active interest he has taken in the work of the Churches. Shortly after the war he presided at a Conference at Cambridge at which the Churches' Commission on International Affairs was founded. He attended and addressed the constituent assembly of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam. He has given much attention to the work of the Federal Council of Churches (now the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.) and was Chairman of the Commission set up in the war, on a Just and Durable Peace.

Dulles is a hard bargainer and a clear and forceful orator. By no means all his positions are acceptable to public or to specifically Christian opinion in this country, to judge by comment at the time. He has hewn a very strong line on the " liberation " of Eastern Europe from Russian Communism. To Europeans, he sometimes seems strangely insensitive to the social demands of the puzzled and frustrated, one might almost say tormented, peoples of the Continent.

K. G. G.

Readers are asked to send in contributions and ideas for "Frontier Chronicle". (See pp. 41-44.)

The Principal of Mansfield College and author of "Law and the Laws" analyses the practical consequences of some current theories.

Law, Justice and History

NATHANIEL MICKLEM

My interest in this subject is practical as well as theoretical. In the countries over-run by the Nazis in the last war the young men, when they reached the age of 18, either were transported to work in the German factories or "went underground." Going underground meant that they hid by day and engaged in works of sabotage by night. They deemed it their patriotic duty to resist rather than to obey the law of the occupying power, and since these laws were often in flagrant contradiction of International Law, these young men may certainly not be blamed. But the present troubles of Europe are due in part to the fact that a generation was trained to recognise no obligation to obey laws. Over a large part of Europe the idea of a Rechtsstaat or of "the reign of law" was lost.

Even in Britain the law has fallen into disrespect in many quarters. Various contributory causes may easily be seen, such as the enormous increase of administrative law, which has no very clear connection with ethics, the increasing intrusion of legislation into what used to be deemed the private lives of citizens, and perhaps still more potent, the vague but general suspicion that the legislation of the political party to which one does not belong is an expression of class interest, rather than of justice. If the average citizen were asked, "What is the authority, as distinct from the sanction, behind law," he would probably answer, should the question be intelligible to him "Parliament"; by this he would mean the more or less arbitrary will of the majority in power. Today in general the law lacks moral sanction. For few is obedience to law a matter of conscience.

There can be no stable and happy civilisation in Europe or in Britain except upon a basis of respect for law. This is no mere lawyers' issue, but it should especially concern the lawyers as the guardians and exponents of the great civilisation of the West.

Prior to the last war the Germans had boasted, not without reason, that theirs was a Rechtsstaat, a country where "the reign of law" is scrupulously observed. It will not, I think, be disputed that Hitler overthrew the reign of law. It became the accepted principle that the will of the Führer is law; the judges were required to set aside the rules of the written code in deference to principles propounded in ministerial

speeches; not the traditional rules of evidence, not the express requirements of the written law but " the sound feeling of the German people " must be decisive in the decisions of the courts. Those lawyers of the old regime who stood loyally to the principles of the Rechtsstaat were displaced, persecuted, exiled and in some cases martyred.

But let us be careful what we say here. In a technical sense Hitler never acted illegally. Except in respect of International Law, no Nazi agent acted illegally. By the so-called *Ermaechtigungsgesetze*, Hitler was empowered to alter the constitution; he exercised but did not exceed his powers. Further, when Sir Hartley Shawcross said in 1946, " Parliament is sovereign; it can make any laws. It could ordain that all blue-eyed babies should be destroyed at birth," he was simply substituting " Parliament " for " the Führer " and repeating the principle that the will of the Führer is law. Moreover, he might have cited the authority of Dicey for this view—though I think Dicey would have had some comments to make upon such a use of his principles. You might say, too, that legislation according to the sound feeling of the German people is merely an extension, though an extreme and wicked extension, of " the acceptance of the principle of ' public policy ' as a ground of decision." The issue is not altogether simple.

But if in some cases the issue is not simple, in others it is quite clear. I like to repeat the pleasant story that when William of Orange landed, the senior member of the Bar, an old judge of over 90, was presented to him. When William congratulated the old man on outliving all his contemporaries, the judge replied, " And if your Highness had not come over, I should have outlived the Law itself." You understand what he meant, and it will not be disputed that, as we understand law, Hitler overthrew the reign of law, the idea of the Rechtsstaat. That is my first point.

Let me now come at my subject from an entirely different angle. Any complete account of man would require the findings of many sciences. Man has, for instance, a chemical aspect, and it is possible to give a chemical account of him, or at least of his body, and the chemists' account of him though it did little to gratify his pride, would be true and valuable so far as it went. There would also be the biologists' account, likewise true and valuable in its sphere. The sociologists would have their different account, and of course all scientific accounts would treat of man in general, not of individual men.

As any complete account of man would require the findings of many sciences, so, it may be, any complete account of law would require the findings of many schools of jurisprudence. At least there is a sort of rough parallel between the two cases. It is possible, it is proper, with

Austin to contemplate law as the command of the legal sovereign. Suarez had defined law as " a precept addressed to a community which is also just, stable and duly promulgated." From this definition Austin would omit the word " just " on the ground that it is the duty of the legislator to be just, and a law is not less a law for being flagrantly unjust. He is supported by Buckland who urges that to put justice into the definition of law is like putting ability to trot into the definition of a horse. It is indeed. Many horses cannot trot. On the other hand, when a horse is what a horse ought to be, it most certainly can trot, and an unjust law, even though it be good law, is defective in something that a law ought to be. Hitler's acts were all constitutional and legal, yet in fact, as we agree, he overthrew the reign of law. I submit that Austin's account of law is parallel to the chemist's account of man. It is most important, but it is of limited importance. There certainly seems a kind of parallel between Duguit's account of law and the biologist's account of man; and there is a plain parallel between the sociological school of such jurists as Roscoe Pound and Julius Stone and the sociologist's account of man. All these modern theories are illuminating. Each deals with the law from some aspect; no one here, I suppose, would wish to claim that any one of them is true and the others false. Each deals with one important aspect of the case. And, I may add, there is plenty of room for the teleological theories of jurisprudence which correspond to the ethical account of man.

Jurisprudence is not a mere branch of ethics, and it is possible and often necessary for scientific purposes to study law without reference to ethical issues, but—this is my submission—unless law be somehow essentially connected with the pursuit of justice, it ends in its own destruction. By this, I mean that, as I have tried to show in my book[1], partial theories such as those of Austin, Kelsen, Duguit and pre-eminently Savigny can, if taken for the whole truth, be made to justify from a legal point of view either the Nazi regime in Germany or dispensation of justice in later totalitarian States, whereas in fact we recognise that neither Nazi Germany nor Stalin's Russia may be called a Rechtsstaat. In both cases the reign of law, as we understand it, has been overthrown. That is my second point.

There is, then, an essential connexion between law and justice. Some laws undoubtedly are unjust. Lawyers, for instance, will recollect the devices and subterfuges to which the courts were reduced to get round the manifest injustices of the law of common employment now abolished. Yet this is an illuminating instance, for there would have been little difficulty in the determination and application of the law had there been no prevailing sense that justice must be done. Not

very infrequently appeal is made in the courts to " natural justice "; I know that lawyers do not relish that, and I sympathise; such vague phrases are unsatisfactory, and yet I cannot think that " natural justice " is anything vaguer than is the reasonable conduct of the reasonable man! But that is by the way.

Not all laws are just, but unless a legal system aims at justice, two consequences follow: first, the law lacks moral authority, and obedience becomes a mere matter of expediency; second, we come quickly to legal systems such as those of Nazi Germany or Stalin's Russia which are the negation of " the rule of law." What, then, is the due relation between law and justice ? The answer of the classical and Christian tradition is plain. It may be illustrated from Cicero and Suarez. There is first of all the *lex aeterna*, the divine righteousness or justice; second, there is the *lex naturae*, the moral law written on the conscience of man as man, the general principles of right and just conduct, which are a reflection of the *lex aeterna* and are principles of moral reason in man; this is " natural law." Third, there is statute (or consuetudinary) law, promulgated by the prince or sovereign authority, and this must be an application of the demands of " natural justice " to the changing and particular needs of the community. The *lex naturae* or the principles of natural justice are a reflection of the eternal law of God; the law of the courts is an application of " natural justice " to the contemporary society; the legal system, therefore, is ultimately derived from the law of God, and obedience to the law is part of the obedience we owe to God. Hence the concept of natural law, to which Blackstone pays so magnificent a tribute in one place that he can elsewhere quite forget about it.

There have been many modern theories of jurisprudence, and these are apt to agree in nothing else but the repudiation of this conception of natural law. Nor can there be any going back to the rather naive tradition in its older form. The reasons why the old conception of natural law will not serve us are primarily these: it is urged that the mind of God, the *lex aeterna*, the divine justice, absolute justice, is hidden from us; then there is no common consent among human beings as to the alleged laws of nature; further, laws do not in fact arise by logical deduction from ethical principles. It is this last point that I would particularly stress. Systems of law do not arise by logical reflection; they grow. In this matter there can be no going back upon the great work of Savigny. The Natural Law School of Jurisprudence, in fact, has been replaced by the Historical School. A people's system of law grows out of a people's history and grows with the people; it rests upon history, not upon abstract ethical principles.

The exception might seem to be the " Reception " of Roman Law in the 16th century by Germany, and it is curious that Savigny, whose work fell so much in that field, should have been the chief founder of the historical school, but here again the exception seems to prove the rule. At any rate it is obvious to us that our Common Law was not a logical deduction from *a priori* first principles but arises from the life and history of our people. This historical conception of law we must accept. But we may not accept it as if it alone could give us a satisfactory doctrine of jurisprudence, for the Nazi conception of law might seem directly derived from Savigny's idea of law as springing out of the soul of a people, out of *die kochende Volksseele*, the seething popular soul. This then is another of those theories which taken alone may lead to the negation of the idea of law as we understand it.

I hope that I have now made clear the aporia, the dilemma, in which we find ourselves. I may put it thus: if justice is omitted from the definition of the essential nature of law as in recent theories of jurisprudence, we find the logical outcome in systems of law which, as in totalitarian states, seem to us the negation of the very idea of law; the abandonment of the idea of natural law has proved disastrous; yet we cannot revive natural law in the old sense because we must accept the fundamental position of the historical school that systems of law are not derived by logical argument from ethical first principles but grow with the people's life and spring from that life. Our problem is concisely expressed by Sir Ernest Barker where he says of natural law that " We must somehow incorporate that undying spirit in our modern conception of Historical Law." I conceive that this task is not impossible.

The objection to the theory of the natural law school, as generally understood, is that its conception is static and vague and *a priori* and unrelated to the historic facts—static because it assumes we have a body of accepted ethical principles universally accepted, vague because such principles as *pacta sunt servanda* or " thou shalt do no murder " throw no light upon the law of contract and/or the definition of murder, *a priori* and unhistorical because at variance with the patent fact that law is a matter of growth and springs from the life of a people. But this is not the only possible conception of natural law. It pre-supposes that natural law is prior to society. But the natural law theory of Plato and Aristotle is very different; it pre-supposes a metaphysically based law of nature which has no actual existence prior to society but which realises itself in society. The old and unsatisfactory conception of natural law pre-supposed that we know what is right, and the function of law is merely to express this known justice in contemporary

terms of the existing society. The better conception of natural law is parallel to the German phrase, *das Recht finden* (to find justice). This pre-supposes that we do not know *a priori* what justice is but have to seek it. We have of course a vague idea of justice—no one would deny that, but what in the complicated situations of common life may be the just requirement we do not know; it is this that we must try to discover. An obvious instance of this would be the difficulty of defining a just or fair price of an article. It would be obviously unjust that shareholders should take maximum profits and squeeze their employees, obviously unjust that wages should be so high as to make the price unnecessarily burdensome on the consuming public. We have to try, as best we can, to decide on a fair price. It may be objected, no doubt, that the fixing of prices by legislation is a matter for Government, not for lawyers. But lawyers are very intimately concerned in this matter, for they serve in the Courts of Justice, and if the law which they interpret were not aiming at justice, their whole tradition would be overset.

In conclusion I have urged that one of the most serious evils of our time is that law has fallen into disrespect; obedience to law is in many circles no longer a matter of conscience and plain moral duty. Moreover, in totalitarian States what we call " the reign of law " has been overthrown. Yet modern theories of jurisprudence, valuable as they are, as partial descriptions of law, are not incompatible with the total perversion of law in totalitarian countries, and this because these theories have attempted to sunder law from ethics and the impartial and eternal law of righteousness or justice, the law of God. None the less, the historical conception of law is by no means to be denied. Our task is to relate the historical outlook to the ethical, that is, to the idea of natural law. On the basis of modern Secularism and moral Relativism there is no solution of this question, this life and death question for mankind and for civilisation. Christians have an answer; no-one else has.

The answer which I submit to you may be put in these terms (how many questions I must here leave on one side!): It is the will of God, part of the purpose of the world, that men should dwell in societies; the only sound and durable basis of society is justice. Part of man's rational endowment is his moral sense or conscience; but conscience can be very rudimentary. Still, man has an ineradicable sense of justice as of beauty; man only gradually learns what is right and what is beautiful; justice is something that we must seek; we seek the will of God—we do not know it *a priori* except in the most general terms. The natural law for man is the immanent law whereby he must grow into the fulness of

manhood; this involves moral development; an immoral man is a perverted man, and immorality leads to disaster. The natural law in society is the immanent law whereby a society that it may prosper and survive and be a real and stable society seeks to realise justice. Absolute justice is beyond us; relative justice is all that we can attain, but the purpose of law is the seeking of justice and the administration of justice. Law is therefore essentially related to ethics, and obedience to law is part of moral obedience and essential to the good life. Thus Cicero maintained that law and right and reason and nature are ultimately and ideally one. This, I submit, is a true philosophy of law; it is ultimately theological; it rests upon a religious basis; it relates law to God, to reason and to nature. It is *only* upon such principles that a stable and free society can be maintained, and therefore an overwhelming responsibility rests upon Christian lawyers as heirs of the great tradition and as alone having an answer to the needs of the present hour.

Law and History Further Discussed

LIMITANUS

It is a coincidence, but a natural coincidence, that more than one contributor to this first number of *Christian News-Letter* is concerned both with the modern world's weakened feeling for law and with the moral interpretation of history. Christian conceptions no longer have the power to regulate society; moreover, as civilisation develops, the economic organisation of society gets more and more like a machine so that the moral grounds for laws and regulations are less apparent than they were. In the Middle Ages, when the gap between justice and the law became uncomfortably wide, equity came to the rescue and in our own day Lord Justice Denning and others argue powerfully that we need a new equity. We have inherited an attitude to laws and a conception of society which may be well adapted for preventing, say, an ox going on to another man's land, but is not adequate to regulate the affairs of the machine age and the welfare state. And former ages could deduce to their own satisfaction the principles of a " natural law " from a comparative study of the laws and customs of those peoples who were known to them. But we, to whom the differing ways of life of all humanity are accessible, know so much about the vagaries of human custom that we cannot easily see a pattern of "natural law" in the old sense running through the laws and customs of all societies. We see too plainly that every system of law grows out of a particular society and depends upon the history of that society.

And the discovery of the fact, for fact it is, that laws grow from history, has coincided with a sort of deification of history in Marxism and in all that stream of thought which flows from Hegel. If philosophy has established the principles of historical development, as Marxists and Hegelians claim, it is natural, if not altogether reasonable, to assume that the culmination of history in the Prussian or in the Soviet state is a good in itself or even the only real good. And once this is admitted, those who hold power in such a state can find plausible justification for whatever the aims of the state seem to require. And hence come all the modern tyrants. It has been said that Roman Law runs easily to totalitarianism—" The pleasure of the Prince has the force of Law "—while in the English Common Law the ruler is always under God and the Law so that the ruling power is limited by a system of law which has been created by Christian lawyers consciously seeking to give effect to the divine law, and to the " natural law " as they understand it. Sir Edward Coke in the 17th century said plainly that " the Law of England is derived from the Law of God." In those days it was held that an Act of Parliament which was against natural justice or the law of God would not be a valid law. But in the 18th and 19th centuries the will of the English Parliament expressed through accepted procedure has almost come to take the place of the Prince in Roman law. By slow degrees Parliament and the Courts have obscured the supremacy of moral law over the laws enacted by the Queen in Parliament and we have lost a bulwark against tyranny.

If we may not accept the results of history as good in themselves, we must none the less look for the working out of ethical principles in history; if we do not do this we have nothing to put in the place of that " natural law " which we can no longer accept. Lord Acton is important to us now because he brought his genius and learning to an elucidation of moral principles manifested in history. [Some recent books on Acton are reviewed on another page.]

But can weak and limited man by his own efforts find the right understanding of the historical process? Some Christian thinkers have held that man only finds the natural law through the "revealed law" of God. And is it to be expected that we can make sense of the manifold pattern of human history unless we come to it through God's revelation of himself in history, in the history of Israel interpreted to us by the prophets of the Old Testament and in the history of the new Israel which starts from the incarnation?

Repent and Believe

DAVIS MCCAUGHEY

It is a commonplace that Communism (like Nazism before it) must be received by the West as a judgment upon much of our way of life, thought and emotion. It answers human questions which our cultural tradition had failed to answer, or sometimes even to be aware of. The challenge of Communism is a call to repent. It is, however, less widely acknowledged that the creative enthusiasm of the new world of North America, and the way in which in a generation U.S.A. has shouldered the immense responsibilities thrust upon her, come as a judgment upon our tired West European unbelief. The challenge of America is a challenge to seek creative solutions: it is a call to belief.

We who live in Europe have, therefore, a peculiar opportunity at the moment to avoid the error into which we should be led if we were to listen to the call from one side alone. Christians contemplating the demonism of the totalitarian state—Fascist, Nazi or Communist in its Stalinist phase—have rightly seen the darkness of the wrath of God, separating himself from his creation, leaving us to the terror and confusion of our ways. Too often, however, we have then had a call to repent which has been pietistic: a call to return to the Church from the world, an invitation to escape out of the darkness, when we ought to be looking—as in a Rembrandt etching—for the light in the darkness illuminating the crucified one on the Cross. We Christians have shared in the secular and pagan despair of Europe about its traditional political and cultural institutions: we have died to the past without expecting to rise to new life. We have thought that the Christian message was "Repent," and have forgotten that it is "Repent *and believe*."

Where we have been fatalistic, too many Americans (like the leaders of the new democracies of the East) have been facile. Belief in the worth-whileness of human endeavour in the spheres of culture and politics is excellent if it is a belief arrived at through penitence. Belief without continued repentance evades the fundamental problem of man's sin, and forgets that it was with sin that God had to deal in establishing his kingly rule by way of the Cross. The call is always "Repent and believe the good news of the kingly rule of God."

This call to a double response is consistent at once with the needs of the present, the best insights of our Western traditions, and with the Gospel itself. Charles Williams in his difficult but extremely rewarding book *The Figure of Beatrice* says that there have in the Christian history of Western Europe been two ways of approach to God which

have deeply influenced both our devotional practice and our lives in society. One is the Way of Rejection, whereby we renounce "all images except the final one of God himself." Much of the devotional practice of both Protestantism and Catholicism cuts out pre-occupation with everything else in order to reach God himself. But there is another way, the Way of Affirmation: the recognition of the claim of God and the grace of God coming *through* other people, *in* the circumstances political, intellectual, cultural in which men are placed.

Both these ways are necessary if we are to approach the living God as he has already approached us in Jesus Christ. Christ himself taught us to be willing to pluck out an eye, cut off a hand if necessary to enter the kingdom of heaven; but he also taught men to receive the kingdom where they are, in relation with their neighbours, and to see its coming in a little child. Indeed his incarnation, death and resurrection declare in turn the significance of the things of this world, their rejection, and their affirmation again.

Dante and Beatrice

Both ways are necessary: it is a question of proper relationship between them, of dying to the old man (repentance) so that here-and-now we may rise to a new man. Charles Williams took Dante's Divine Comedy as one of the few, certainly one of the first expressions of this Way of Affirmation through penitence. He suggests that there are three main images in this poem, Beatrice representing romantic love (and much besides), the city representing man's socio-political life, and Vergil and various other figures representing man's activities in poetry and learning. If we like to put it in our banal modern terms, there are the spheres of domestic relationships, of politics and of culture: in the exercise of each of these activities man finds a way back to God. It is a way which passes through hell and purgatory before it reaches heaven: to take a positive or affirmative attitude to the relations of men and women, to politics, to culture is not the same thing as having an optimistic view of man's potentialities or achievements. The Way of Affirmation is the way of repentance unto belief. Instead of seeing these activities as they are in themselves we see them as they are in Christ: human love remains love between human beings, and yet it is the place where the Divine Love is received or rejected; the city of Florence (or Berlin or London) does not become the city of God, but it is the place where the city of God is made known or concealed; the exercise of the imagination and the intellect in poetry and learning are not in themselves the worship of God, but they are nevertheless the places where God is worshipped or blasphemed.

Paul Tillich too reminds us that we are not called to change the substance of this life into something other than itself, but that our life in time and history can be transparent: through all apparently temporal relationships can be seen the eternal divine-human relation in which they live and move and have their being. This life is not eternal, it is time-bound and historical, but we anticipate eternal life: in all the choices of the present, the judgment of the last day is being pronounced, and the awful words are being written *Come ye blessed* and *Depart from me for I never knew you.* We must try to give illustrations of what this might mean for European man.

1. What might the recovery of belief by way of repentance—the way to heaven through hell and purgatory—mean for us in Europe in our understanding of the significance of *marriage and the family* ?

Charles Williams speaks of romantic love as being " something like the vision of an eternal state." He goes on to say that married life, and family relationship upon earth can be " an experiment towards that state." He has no illusions however that this particular road to heaven lies through hell and purgatory. To put this into different language: anyone with his eyes half open must recognise the touching faith expressed in the cry of the lover to the loved one that this is for ever, and that once married they can live happily ever after; but it is surely also evident that this first romantic impulse contains within it the seeds of disillusionment. Yet the Church in her wisdom does not deny the reality of those hopes: she offers power by which they may be fulfilled. The lovers are taught not to depend upon their own love for each other, but in depending each upon the other learn dependence upon God and his infinitely gracious Love. The vision of an eternal state—however distortedly observed by the young romantic lovers—has become an experiment towards that state.

Romanticism isolates the experience of human love, sees it as existing in its own right, not as the image of something beyond itself, the divine love stretching out into all the world; so when the initial romantic impulse fades, the relationship to which it gave rise can be broken and a man or a woman can start all over again with a new love. And it is easy for romantics to think that the family exists in its own right, and that all methods are fair when it comes to promoting the interests of members of that family: whereas the family must be seen as an image of something beyond itself, the divine family in which the Father is God whose love is holy, righteous and redeeming. The Christian understanding of marriage and the family is to be distinguished from false romanticism; it is equally to be distinguished from a social or utilitarian view. Marriage is not just a legal device for con-

trolling the sex-instinct which is inconveniently promiscuous even in a totalitarian state. It is an experiment towards eternity; and marriage and the family bear witness in the most highly organised totalitarian society to areas of life which cannot be conquered by social engineers.

2. The second sphere from which we might illustrate how our human relationships can be seen as the material out of which eternal life is shaped is *our attitude towards past history*. There is a moving passage in Dante's *Inferno* which helps to illustrate the point. Dante finds in the third ring of the seventh Circle of Hell, Brunetto Latini, his old teacher—

—" *What, you here, Brunetto, you!*
Stamped on my mind, and now stabbing my heart
The dear, benign, paternal image of you,
You living, you hourly teaching me the art
By which men grow immortal; know this too:
I am so grateful that while I breathe air
My tongue shall speak the thanks which are your due."

A man to whom he owes so much is damned, and Dante—acknowledging this—shows compassion. He is loyal, grateful to the past, even though those from whom he derived his present existence are damned.

This is a parable about our attitude towards history—our past—as an experiment towards eternity whose destiny may be heaven or hell. But whichever it be it ought to call forth our reverence; in a real sense history has been prolonged, those who went before us did not see its final consummation, in order that *they without us should not be made perfect.*

The Meaning of the Past

European man needs to repent and believe in his attitude towards his past. For too long have we given way either to the idealisation of the past which has been an idolisation, or to a nihilism which rejoices in debunking the past. If we could learn to see the past as the image of the eternal community, the story of man's life with man as the image both of the communion of saints and of the fate of the damned, it would deliver us from the cynicism of the totalitarian view or the progressivism which characterised the liberal approach to history.

The Christian is also, however, to be distinguished from the progressivist who sees history as the story of man's gradual development towards social organisation—culminating perhaps in the triumph of European aesthetic or intellectual standards, or in the American way of life. History for the Christian is the story of men in society who know and will know *judgment* and redemption. They are part of

God's handiwork in creating a community of men, made for fellowship with him: owing their life to having been sent by him, needing redemption by him, due to return to him again. We therefore look at them with reverence and without illusions. They like us lived in a world which knew Wrath and Righteousness, to whom the call was always *Repent and believe.*

3. A third area in which we shall need to give content to belief by way of repentance is of course politics. We single out one issue: the respect due to law in our political life.

One of the greatest crimes of the Nazis was the exaltation of the doctrine of Thrasymachus who argued with Socrates that justice was the interest of the stronger. To the Nazi, as to his totalitarian predecessors and Stalinist cousins, the law is an instrument used by those in power to maintain themselves in and increase their hold upon power. Law is become the servant of power.

We in the West have become curiously hesitant in our condemnation of this. We are uneasy about so many of our own ways of establishing and maintaining law and order. We have lost faith that law ever is or can be anything other than the instrument of those with power. Marx and Freud and other lesser men have impressed us with the infinite complexity of human motives and of our endless capacity for rationalisation. We see how other nations, and we ourselves, have used moral arguments to bolster up our own interests. This capacity to detect the self at work everywhere to defend its own interests must be accepted as a call to continual repentance. but not as an excuse for falling into cynicism.

The law as we have it is an image of the divine law by which all men are governed. When in Europe we have fitfully and painfully tried to bring power into subjection to law so that the ruler is bound by the laws he has enacted and nations by agreements that they have entered—when we have tried to make power subject to law, we have, however dimly, been reflecting the eternal nature of things. All power *is* ultimately subject to the law of God. Over against the cynicism of the totalitarian we affirm the divine image of the law; but it is always an image that stands in need of cleansing. Law has as much been brought into disrepute by the unjust law as by its subjection to the interests of the stronger.

At the other pole from totalitarian cynicism about the law stands the American worship of the Constitution, which finds its extreme manifestation in " the psychology of formal liberty." Here we have an identification of the law-that-is with the absloute law of God for the proper ordering of men's life, a naive faith in formulations and in

formal relations: this is belief without repentance; this is to confuse the image with the thing reflected. And it is not necessary to go as far as the U.S.A. to get this psychology of formal liberty.

We all show ourselves cynical or simple-minded by the kind of attitude which we take and the remarks which we make about particular issues as they arise in national life. Are we cynical—perhaps for the sake of being thought clever—about law-makers and about the way law is administered ? Or are we complacent, assuming that while there may be small miscarriages of justice, on the whole the law itself gives a correct framework to our lives ? Are we cynical, or complacent—for instance—about the way in which order is being restored in Malaya and Kenya ? Neither of these attitudes becomes a Christian who always must see behind the law-that-is the hand of God administering justice, and yet the judgment of God on the law as it is. So while upholding the law we shall seek to correct it; and no task in politics will seem too trivial or technical for us to master in the interests of restoring to the broken fabric of European life this belief in law, a belief recovered continually by way of repentance. The conservative in us, who understands that law is brought into disrepute by too rapid changes, must be in continual conversation with the radical in us, who knows that the unjust law equally brings the law into disrepute.

It is a condition of our lives, domestic, cultural, political, that " every success is a new sort of failure." As long as history lasts the word of the Gospel to men and women in their families, in politics, as artists, as scientists will remain, " Repent and believe." If men are to respond with their whole lives and not only in the private parts reserved for religion, full imaginative or symbolic value will have to be given to the things and people whom men can touch and see. An image (as Coleridge said of a symbol) has three characteristics: it exists in itself (the married partner, the law of the land, the scientific experiment or the historical investigation); it points to something greater than itself (the love of God, the law of God, the God of truth, the eternal community); it represents, or brings into the present, this greater thing but yet remains itself in all its fragmentary incompleteness.

" All truth is a shadow except the last," said Isaac Pennington in the 17th century. " But every truth is substance in its own place, though it be but a shadow in another place. And the shadow is a true shadow, as the substance is a true substance." We may not like the terminology but the wisdom judges us. It has been important in Europe in recent decades to break down men's pretensions, to declare with all the emphasis that we can command that " all truth is a shadow except the last truth "; in everything we do we must live continuously a

life of repentance. But if this is all that we Christians have to say we shall leave men without a God whom they can approach, to whom they can repent where they are. In compassion for men in their lostness we must demonstrate again that " every truth is substance in its own place": the road to belief may be hard to walk upon, but it opens out before our feet.

New Kinds of Food

If there is not to be fearful starvation and malnutrition many countries will need within fifty years about twice as much food as they are getting now, but it is hard to see how this is to be done unless we or our children learn to eat unusual food. Every race and class tends to be selective and conservative about what it eats. We refuse to eat tunny, though that delicious fish abounds off our shores and is eaten all round the Mediterranean, while Italians refuse to eat blackberries. But even when we have all got accustomed to changes such as this, there remain important possibilities such as those investigated by the Nutrition Society at its recent conference on " Unusual Foods for Human Consumption." Dr. Black of the Institute of Seaweed Research at Inveresk pointed out that we are already eating seaweed in ice-creams. But the main development of the future will be large-scale cultivation of green algae in shallow coastal waters or in land troughs. The energy of the sun could thus be trapped and the protein content of the seaweed squeezed and turned into acceptable food materials.

Dr. Bristowe spoke on " Insects as Food," from personal experience in many countries. In Siam, water-beetles, fire-flies, bees and grasshoppers are made into curry. Large squashy spiders are esteemed a delicacy and were sold for 2d. each twenty-five years ago; they taste like Gorgonzola cheese. Indeed it seems that unusual foods taste much like other food. Locusts lightly roasted or fried are delicious at first but cloy after about three days, according to those who have tried.

Our sanctification does not depend upon changing our works but in doing that for God's sake which we commonly do for our own.
Brother Lawrence.

Marriage and Divorce

LIMITANUS

In 1951 the House of Commons gave a second reading to Mrs. White's Private Bill which proposed that after seven years separation, divorce should be available at the discretion of the judge to either party of the marriage, regardless of guilt or innocence. This over simple proposal neglected many relevant things. So, not wishing this matter to be considered apart from other kindred problems, the Government appointed a strong Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce. Almost every aspect of marriage and divorce, with the important exception of premarital questions, comes within the scope of the Commission.

There is a strong case for Mrs. White's Bill. The distinction between the innocent and the guilty party is often artificial and sometimes downright misleading. Surely after seven years of separation a marriage is completely dead and is it not wiser to face this fact, rather than put a man, who wants to start fresh, at the mercy of a spiteful ex-wife ? But not all deserted wives who refuse a divorce are spiteful. They may have religious scruples or they may be concerned to maintain their own children's rights in the husband's income or in family property which might otherwise go to the children of a second marriage.

But the real objection to Mrs. White's bill is that it introduces the possibility of divorce by agreement and that is something which the English Law has never yet permitted. If a couple have the right to a divorce after seven years, why not after one year ?

If marriage is merely a contract between two parties, they have a perfect right to dissolve this contract. But that is not the view of marriage which is taken by any Christian Church.

All Christian Churches found their doctrine of marriage upon the teaching of Our Lord and of the Apostles. All do not interpret it alike, but all Christians have always held that marriage ought to be a permanent relation and not a contract which can be dissolved at the will of the parties. And they have held not that this permanent relationship is for Christians only but that it is the will of God for all men. The Church has to witness to this.

But is it wise or is it possible for a Christian minority to impose its convictions by legislation on people who are not Christians? However that may be, there can be no question about the folly of enacting laws which go much beyond what the general moral sense of the people will support; prohibition in America is a standing warning.

The Churches must maintain their own standards for their members. Indeed, Christianity might prosper more if it were generally known that Christians have to keep a more exacting moral code than other people. But we must not try to enforce Christian standards upon non-Christians by Act of Parliament. Must we then stand aside and leave the State to pass its own secular laws embodying current notions of social hygiene? By no means. It may be that the bulk of the country has turned its back on the Christian faith, but it still accepts standards which derive from Christianity, though it may not recognise their origins.

And even the most pagan state has a strong interest in the stability of marriages. The Government of the Soviet Union soon found that too great freedom of divorce threatened to cause the dissolution of society and the Communist Party has now thrown the power of the state into the work of strengthening the stability of marriage. Shall the Government of Great Britain do less?

The State and the Church do not have the same motives but they have a common interest in building up a stable, happy family life, which is to say that the divine law and the natural law meet at this point. So Christians may find secular allies, if they press for a law which upholds the public interest in the fate of marriages. If the State regards stable and happy marriages as a thing desirable in itself, then the law must be weighted so as to give such marriages the best chance of occurring. But in most cases stable and happy marriages have to be struggled for through many difficulties. So the law must not enable people to run out from these difficulties the moment they occur and therefore there must be a fairly stiff test for divorce.

It is easier to lay down principles than to apply them and even if Mrs. White's Bill is unacceptable in its present form, no one can feel satisfied with our present law which releases guilty parties from an unloving marriage but will not do the same for the innocent.

And what do the children count for? It is tempting to say that the interest of the children should be paramount but what would this come to in practice? Is a broken home or an endless squabble worse for the children? Opinions differ. Perhaps a distinction must be made between bickering which most children take in their stride and an " unconquerable aversion " between the spouses which may have fearful results for the children. Should a divorce be granted less readily, where there are children of the marriage? All that can be said with reasonable certainty at this stage is that the interests of the children should be carefully considered before a divorce is granted and that the present law does not provide adequately for this. It is significant that the 1912 Royal Commission on Divorce had next to nothing to say about the children.

It is clear that a good deal can be done to improve the law, but this does not answer the question: "Who is to administer Divorce Law?" The assumption that the ordinary law courts are the right place to unravel matrimonial tangles needs to be proved. The judges of the High Court have generally been penetrating, efficient and humane in their handling of divorce but there remains a case for handing over the administration of the Divorce Law to special family triubnals which would be less bound by rules of procedure and might have considerable latitude in their decisions. If the judgments of these tribunals turned out to be less easily predictable than the judgments of the High Court, that might be quite a good thing. At present a couple can get divorced if they both want a divorce and one of them is prepared to commit certain matrimonial offences laid down by an Act of Parliament. Might it not be better that they should have to persuade a tribunal of reasonable men and women that it was in the public interest that their marriage should be liquidated? Such a change would bring its own problems and could not be recommended without the most careful consideration but it is at least worth thinking about.

Frontier Luncheon

MR. ROBERT R. JOB, who speaks at the next Frontier Luncheon, is a miner from the Kent coalfield. His father has had fifty years in the pits, and he comes from a family of Durham miners who went to Kent in 1926. He went down the pit when he was 14, and when he was 35 and already had four children he won a scholarship at Ruskin College, where he studied Economics and wrote a thesis on the history of the Kent coalfield, on the strength of which he gained an Economics Diploma. During his Oxford vacations he continued to work at the coal face. He is now working at the headquarters of the National Coal Board. Mr. Job has acquired an exceptional capacity for seeing how things look from the bottom without thinking that that is the only possible viewpoint. His subject is "Human Problems in a Miner's Life".

The luncheon will be in the Crypt of St. Martin-in-the-Fields at 12.45 p.m. on Thursday, 12th February, 1953, and the chair will be taken by the Editor of CHRISTIAN NEWS-LETTER. Tickets (3s.) should be obtained (before 10th February) from the Christian Frontier, 8 The Cloisters, Windsor Castle.

N.B. No further notice of this lunch will be given (the next number of C.N.-L. appears after the luncheon is over).

Cry the Beloved Country

MARRIS MURRAY

Cry the Beloved Country was a book arising directly from that sense of guilt and unhappiness which is now the burden of all white South Africans, whatever their political beliefs. And the book was read with avidity all over the Union. For I think that to no country in the world today is de Maistre's saying more applicable than to South Africa: " Our children will bear the burden of our mistakes. Our fathers have already avenged them." The book was a direct illustration of this. We have already inculcated certain attitudes into our children, but we ourselves are now suffering, both white and black, from the results of these same attitudes in our fathers. These things are known to all South Africans, and Paton did not need to be very explicit about the historical, economic and sociological causes of the crisis in South Africa to-day.

But I wondered, when I heard that the story was to be filmed, what audiences without this background knowledge would understand of the inevitable and tragic situation, in which the black man, innocent of the savagery of his forefathers, is driven off his land into the evil of the city, where he then, through fear, kills the innocent son of the man who is representative of those who have driven him there. And would not American negro actors introduce an alien and sophisticated note ?

But when I had seen the film, all my misgivings left me. The simplicity, the sincerity, and the particular objectivity of compassion for both black and white, that distinguished the book, were all there. The acting was true and moving, the casting excellent. The essential background was given: the poverty of the Bantu on his reduced and unproductive land, the consequent need for him to go and work in the city, and the squalid conditions in which he is forced to live when he gets there. We were shown, almost as it were off-handedly, the arrogance and indifference of the ruling European, who thinks it a disgraceful thing to " shake hands with a native," and who does not pity his poverty any more than he would pity an animal for having only one coat. We were shown the bewilderment and despair of the black man, thrust into the bad conditions that breed bad men. We saw both races clamped in the old attitudes: " the fear of bondage and the bondage of fear." For in South Africa a black skin has for so long been synonymous with a short purse that the African, in the eyes of the European, remains what he seemed when the two first met: a man savage, treacherous, and beastly in his habits, who could so easily

overwhelm and debase the white man's way of living. On his side the African, prevented by his poverty from changing his life, fears the European who still maintains the role of conqueror: greedy, perfidious, and unjust.

It may be that the relationship of black and white in South Africa is now so bad that nothing can be done to improve it; many leading Africans think that this is so. But something can and must be attempted if disaster is not to overtake our children, black and white alike. This film brings out very forcibly the humanity, gentleness and dignity of the African, qualities that have been too often misunderstood or overlooked by the European. The African is not by nature materialistic; the European has taught him to want more than he needs while insisting that he should get less. In its extreme manifestations the European attitude towards the African denies him his humanity and brushes aside the rich gifts of character which he has to offer to our broken-down civilisation. And this I think is the true message of the film: the European must change his attitude, must recognise that the African is a human being, and that in his poverty and differentness he can still be a spiritual equal. More is needed to avert disaster than higher wages, more land, improved housing. Without a change of heart, these things will be mere patches, and black and white will continue to fear one another. The European, like the bigotted old farmer in the film, must learn to shake hands with the African. Men can bear poverty and squalor, it is frustration and insult that make life unendurable.

If the European would learn to respect, the African might learn to trust. The thing is not a question of politics; the official parties in the Union differ little in their policies towards the African, and are unlikely to make any overt changes. The attitude of respect and trust that does away with fear is something that each man must achieve for himself before the beloved country is torn to pieces.

> We being in a workhouse, we must have our agenda, things we are to do, and the law being the doctrine of things which are to be done, it is our agenda, things we are to do.
>
> — Lancelot Andrews, "The Moral Law Expounded", 1642.

The Christian institution of marriage is built into the framework of many different kinds of society. In this controversial article a former missionary now working for the welfare of overseas students in this country describes some practical problems.

African Marriage

G. F. A. Baer

Christian missionaries strike at the very roots of African life, for religion pervades all spheres of life, and even missionaries preaching with caution born of understanding, cannot help being destroyers—and not all missionaries have proceeded with caution and humility. Moreover, the first missionaries did not know as much as we do about the lives of primitive people.

Much of our Christian teaching of necessity differs vastly from the African's way of thinking. To begin with, Africans recognise the utility of enforcing a marriage contract which both parties wish to repudiate. The following example shows the curious effect of Christian marriage rites on the African. An African man and woman were married by a Roman Catholic Priest and vowed to live together till death would part them. Some time later the husband deserted his wife. She sued in the Native Court and obtained a divorce according to Native Law on the grounds of desertion. The case was quashed by a European magistrate because the court in question was held to be acting *ultra vires, sans jurisdiction* in divorce suits relating to Christian marriages. The wife now went to the magistrate concerned who explained the position to her. She thereupon begged him to grant her a divorce. He informed her that the local ordinance governing matters did not regard desertion alone as grounds for divorce and that she would also have to prove adultery. She thereupon petitioned his court. The husband duly appeared, admitted his adultery and added that he had married the woman concerned according to Native law, the marriage subsequently being solemnised according to Moslem law. The wife was granted a decree nisi on the grounds of her husband's adultery coupled with desertion and the fact that he had changed his profession of Christianity for the profession of another religion. With the exception of desertion, he had never heard of such grounds for divorce before. The Roman priest now told the woman that her decree was invalid.

She now dropped her case, did not petition for a decree absolute, and subsequently remarried according to Native custom. But the

wife had petitioned for the custody of her three children on ground which the court decided were valid. She thought that was exceedingly smart, for according to Native Law the children should have gone to her husband. However, the cheated husband retaliated by refusing to accept the return of the bride price until the children were restored to him. As long as that was outstanding, no native would recognise the divorce and, therefore, the second marriage would be bigamous in Native Law. The woman now saw her folly and she and her relatives all went off to the Native Court to settle the matter with the divorced husband. But the chief, whose previous judgment had been quashed, fought shy of this case. To approach the mission was equally useless. The woman, her relatives and her late husband thereupon decided to settle this matter out of court. So they met under a tree over a large pot of beer, and after much parley they reached an agreement whereby the husband should be given the custody of the children on condition that he accepted the return of the portion of the bride price owing to him, thereby giving the woman her release and making her second marriage legal according to Native Law.

Wherever Christianity has become a living force, it shapes its own moulds, and African Christians have shown that they can do this quite well. Tribal ritual in its colourful variety contrasts strangely with the European rites of the Christian Church, many of which are meaningless to the African. That is why I hold that African customs, such as are practised in connexion with marriage, birth, illness and death should be re-cast into Christian forms in order to ease the burden of transition.

Quite often Christianised Africans are very prone to indulge that inconoclasm so characteristic of converts. Hence it becomes at times necessary to curb their over-zealousness in destroying African customs. Bride price is a case in point. "It has proved its ability to adapt itself to changed conditions and to withstand the active hostility of the missionaries," says such an authority on the Bantu as Mrs. A. Winifred Hoernlé.

Most tribal Africans still regard it as a condition *sine qua non* but it is also practised surreptitiously in most Christian or civil marriages.

Africans rightly resent the assertion of superficial white observers that they buy their wives. If it were so, they argue, a wife would be her husband's slave, but this she most certainly is not, either *de jure* or *de facto*. The husband's rights are far less than the *patria potestas* conferred upon the Roman *pater familias*.

The wife herself will estimate her value and the regard which she will enjoy from her husband and his family according to the price which he paid. If the payments were inadequate or still outstanding

ıe relation of her husband to both his wife and her family is at once mbiguous, and the wife may on the occasion of a difference of opinion eproach him for his slackness in fulfilling his contractual agreement. he may also add insult to injury by refusing to fulfil her wifely duties. n some tribes the family of the bride prefer to have the payment of ıe bride-price postponed because this is a means of retaining their ıfluence on their son-in-law. For the tribal African a marriage rranged without bride-price means a humiliation and dishonour to ıe wife and even the detribalised and/or Christianised African often olds this view. Marriage in a Registry Office or in Church is welomed as an addendum, but not as a substitute for bride-price, which ives a better guarantee for an orderly married life than the rules and egulations imported by foreigners from Europe.

Formerly the bond between two clans was strengthened by a marriage. he prospective bridegroom had to visit his bride-to-be and her family egularly. He also had to labour in the field of his father-in-law, just s Jacob, and he had to surrender part of his hunting. In short, it was ıcumbent upon him to make himself pleasant to his in-laws and to etain their favour. But the introduction of the European conception f money changed all this. The educated (or should I say " sophisti- ated ") African pays his bride-price in cash, cheque, or postal order. he bride comes c.o.d., and the whole arrangement smacks of a com- ıercial transaction. In areas where polygamy is the rule and where irls are therefore in short supply, the marriageable age is often lowered ı order to secure the bride-price as soon as possible.

The relationship between husband and wife has also changed onsiderably. In the olden days, the maintenance of the family was qually shared by both. Today, the man is, to an ever increasing egree, the breadwinner. In urban areas miners, domestic servants nd others in the pay of Europeans, give part of their wages to their ives. Even in rural districts, agriculture is no longer the womans' ıain duty. On the contrary, where the plough has replaced the hoe, he man alone uses it, and thus reduces the woman's share in the work n the land to a minimum. She now can be at home longer and more ften. This would be a good thing were she to occupy her time by mproving the home and rearing her children. But this does not appen. The wife has not yet been trained for this. Where the amily has drifted from the country into the town, the wife expects her usband to provide her with the means for buying clothing befitting er station. When he cannot do so, she herself may start a trade, or he may make evil use of leisure to augment her allowance.

Christians and Communists in India

The Communist vote in the recent Indian elections was generally highest in those districts where Christianity is strongest. Christianity has aroused the beginnings of a social conscience and many people see Communism as the only answer to the problems of a land where hunger verges on starvation and every year brings four million more mouths to feed. Most but not all Indian Christians reject Communism. A correspondent of the Ecumenical Press Service recently in Travancore describes how he saw a shop surrounded with " colourful religious placards—' The Lord is my Shepherd,' ' Underneath are the Everlasting Arms,' ' Rest in Peace '—while in the centre of the store propped up on a chair so that it could be seen by all who passed by, framed a large and gorgeously tinted portrait of Stalin in his most beatific mood." In a factory at Alleppey, according to the same correspondent, more than half the workers were Christian but 95% belonged to the Communist Trade Union. " It was obvious why Communism could make such an appeal; the workers, many of them women, each received two rupees or less per day, and most of them had employment for only one or two days a week. A friend showed us a booklet entitled ' Christ in Moscow,' the Hindu author quoted passages on social justice from Isaiah, Amos and the New Testament, drew parallels between the sufferings of the early Christians and those of the Communists, and closed with the statement that if Christ were alive today he would be a Communist."

The greatest weakness of the Church in India is that " most Christians are poorly informed about the social implications of the Gospel. Christian instruction in India has been limited mainly to individual and devotional life. There is a great need for literature which will help Christians to see the relation of their faith to the pressing social and economic problems of India today." Communist literature is cheap, plentiful and well produced. Christian literature is often scarce and sometimes expensive. Something is being done to remedy this but not enough. The United Society for Christian Literature has decided to take immediate action on a far-reaching scheme for providing vernacular literature for the training of the Indian ministry. This is good news but the scheme must take some years to have its effect and it will only touch the Indian laity indirectly and in so far as a sounder theological training of the clergy will make them more ready to grasp and expound the social implications of the Gospel.

The E.P.S. correspondent found " youth leaders of the Church of

South India and the Mar Thoma church actively engaged in the task of arousing Christians to tackle social evils both within the churches and in society as a whole. All of these leaders are well acquainted with Communism, for many of their friends and relatives are members of the party. They are convinced that unless Christians do something positive in political and social life, they will lose the initiative entirely to the Communists. Recently they called together a group of fifteen young Christian writers for a consultation on how best to present Christian ideas and concerns through short stories, poems, dramas and newspaper articles.

" Missions and Churches should do much more to help solve the economic and social problems of village Christians . . . Adult literacy campaigns, technical training for boys and girls, the formation of village co-operatives—these and other practical programmes need to be developed." Such is the conclusion of the E.P.S. correspondent.

The Christian Institute for the Study of Society at Bangalore springs from a conscience disturbed by Christianity and disappointed by Marxism. In the words of Mr. P. D. Devanandan, its purpose is " to make it clear to Christian believers that religion is relevant to life; that Christianity concerns this life as much as the life everlasting; . . . This task, calls, at the same time, for thought and action, systematic study and organised effort. . . .

" The ' fighting creed ' of Communism offers a challenge to the Christian, who also has a dynamic hope for which to live, and a similar struggle in which, if need be, to die. The radical reconstruction of Society is to us the consequence of people, as individuals and groups establishing *personal* relationships, in mutual recognition of their essential worth in the eternal scheme of life, and fulfilling their function as the children of God, fully acknowledging His sovereignty in all departments of life. . . .

" To deny the fact of class strife in our world would be to blind ourselves to realities . . . Our end is not alone to accentuate the struggle so that it may finally result in a ' classless society,' but rather to strike at the root of evil, which is human self-interest. Our task is to create out of this very strife a lasting sense of conscious interdependence and social harmony. . . . In a sense, the class struggle is a necessity, and the Christian is also bound to utilise the technique of the class struggle to realise his hope of true community. . . . Only in this way can administrative failure be minimised in any form of government, the rights of the ' common man ' secured, and the selfish interests of capitalists and landlords kept under control."—*The South India Churchman*, August, 1952.

Men like Mr. Devanandan and Bishop Lesslie Newbigin, whose contribution to the November 1952 *Frontier* will be remembered, see the life of the Church in its full social setting. Such men see that the Church must transform society or die, and they believe that the Indian Church must not only evangelise India, hard task though that may be, but also bring the Gospel to other lands. The young Church of South India has already sent a presbyter and his wife to Papua where they work in close partnership with British missionaries and missionaries from the Fiji Islands among a people coming out of the "Stone Age into post-war sophistication." And the United Church of North India, which was formed by a union of Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, is sending a missionary to Nairobi for work among the very important Indian and Pakistani communities of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyka.

Frontier Glimpse

LIMITANUS

DOCTORS AND DEATH

Dr. A : I have never told anyone that he was dying, as one never knows what kind of reception this news will have. When a patient has a malignant disease, I believe that the feeling comes to him that he is going to die. Both the relatives and the patient often know, but neither will say. The other day a woman, obviously dying, asked me how long her illness would last. I answered, "I am only a doctor and not a prophet." She just said "Thank you very much. That is what I wanted to know." She knew that I meant that she was not going to get any better. Generally speaking, however, I am afraid of stamping out the last hope.

Dr. B : Why, as a Christian, are you afraid of stamping out the last hope ?

Dr. A : Because I do not know where the patient is—as Kierkegaard says.

Dr. C : I think that in telling the patient he is going to die, there should be a definite object in view. If, for example, a man knows he is dying, he may face up to some obligation he has been trying to evade, or make his will. Great injustices are often done when someone dies without making a will. Roman Catholics and Scottish Presbyterians are always very anxious to know when they are dying, so that they

may concentrate on what is coming, see their clergy and review their circumstances. But many people consider it a great triumph to slip out of life without knowing.

Dr. D : Even when doctors are asked, it is quite a common thing for them not to tell patients, and to deceive them deliberately. The only rule in my hospital is that the relatives should be told.

* * *

We pray to be delivered from sudden death and we ought not to try to slip out of life without knowing anything about it. Christians should be taught to prepare for death and a Christian doctor should tell a Christian patient when death comes near. It is true that no one can certainly prophecy the course of an illness even in an extremity; indeed the spiritual remedies used in preparation for death may well cure an illness which seemed incurable. But the Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians are right; Christians ought to want to know honestly how they stand.

But what is to happen when doctor or patient or both are not Christian or only partly Christian ? Surely, the very human wish of a dying man to leave this world without trouble to himself or others must be respected, and doctors are right to be very gentle with the dying. A man on his death bed may be past learning, but it would be better if people in health could learn to speak more freely and naturally about death. Pagans, too, can prepare themselves nobly for death, as may be seen from the ancient Stoics and the modern Communists.

Frontier Chronicle

Christianity and the Army

In a recent broadcast Sir William Slim said of the army: " Here is an opportunity, indeed an invitation, to the churches unparalleled in our history. That the spiritual revival of Britain should come through her armed forces need not be a pious hope; it could be a practical proposition." And many good Christians in the Forces are beginning to make it a practical proposition. They are found in all ranks but particularly among the senior officers, for there are more convinced and active Christians in the higher ranks of the armed forces than in civilian life. Why is this ? If you ask a Christian general why he is a Christian, he will often say that when he was a junior officer he did not think much about religion but that the overwhelming responsibilities of a commanding officer have made him see that without the help of God a man often finds himself helpless.

Conscription is making the armed forces into a powerful agency for bringing young men into touch with religion, and the Christian Leadership courses organised by the Royal Army Chaplains Training Centre at Bagshot Park play

an important part in this. They are attended by all ranks from generals to privates.

G.O.C.s send to these courses officers and N.C.O.s who have responsible jobs, particularly in training National Servicemen. Christian senior officers are always on the lookout for likely men to send to these courses, which give elementary teaching for nominal Christians, beginning with belief in God and building up to the reason for prayer and for corporate worship. These courses always finish with a practical session on the application of Christian principles to life in the Army.

Men who are already committed Christians also attend voluntary courses, which try to increase a man's understanding of and loyalty to his own Church. These courses are well attended and a Bagshot Fellowship has been formed for those men who, having come on a course, wish to remain linked with Bagshot Park. There are two reunions a year and a quarterly bulletin is sent to the members of the fellowship, who undertake a Rule of Life based on daily prayer and Bible reading.

Training Christian Leadership for Industry

The opening of Dunford College near Midhurst, Sussex, fills in "the main outlines of the pattern of the Y.M.C.A.'s new service to industry and education" and it does so in conditions of "beauty, dignity and comfort." The main purpose of Dunford College, as of the other Y.M.C.A. colleges, is "the creation of Christian leadership among the skilled and trained workers in industry." Rhoose College takes the under 20's for short residential courses, Kingsgate College at Broadstairs does the same for those who have finished their apprenticeship, and colleges at Cambridge and Durham take "junior management" for a full university term, while Dunford College will cater for those in positions of senior responsibility in industry, either as managers or as Trade Union leaders, in commerce, in agriculture, and in public life. Dunford House was the home of Richard Cobden and since his death the Cobden family and their friends have sought to use the house for purposes close to Cobden's heart. And the trustees of Dunford House who have been looking for a contemporary expression of their ideals, have now given Dunford House and Estate to the National Council of Y.M.C.A.s on trust for its educational work.

Outstanding men from academic life, industry, Trade Unions and public life will be appointed as resident or non-resident fellows, and Dr. J. H. Oldham has already gone to live at Dunford as the first resident fellow.

The Y.M.C.A. colleges have been notably successful in attracting the support of industry and the interest of their students and the Y.M.C.A. have reason for their "confident expectation that, in the hands of God, our Colleges and Courses will give industry and public life a constant stream of Christian leaders and will provide centres of learning and refreshment for those who carry responsibilities in this area of life."

Slow Climb of U.S. Negroes

A million Negro workers have entered industry and trade in the U.S. since 1941. Among negroes working on the land the percentage of farm owners has gone up by 20% and the percentage of labourers has gone down by 15%. Eleven years ago nearly 45% of the "negro non-farm work force" was in domestic service but now this figure has fallen to less than 30%. Since 1945 eleven states and 22 municipalities with a combined population of 60 million have passed laws against discrimination in employment. Professor John W. Davis, writing in *Fortune* (for July, 1952) has said that these gains were only possible "because in many instances

nlightened management took up a hallenge in 1941 that many educational nstitutions, the armed forces, churches nd the Y.M.C.A. failed to accept."

As from 31st March, 1952, the resbyterian Church in the U.S. has issolved its separate Synod for Negroes ut a separate "fellowship" for the Negro Churches is planned. Until 1910 ne Presbyterian Church in the U.S. sponsored an independent Church for egroes" (Third Annual Report of the oard of Church Extension, the Presyterian Church in the U.S. 1951-2). n that year the formation of the eparate synod for negroes established a new fellowship in service—on an ssembly level." Negro participation is ow established at the Synod level and ie Regional Planning Committee for egro work will have negro and white embers. Financial help from the whole hurch is needed to build up the negro ongregations locally ; "no longer can e build little mission buildings to ouse our negro churches, especially in ur cities. Negroes who are graduates om colleges with brick or stone uilding, and who are buying their own omes in new housing developments, ould have church buildings that will emand their respect and support."

The present state of race relations iside the church in America is ividly represented by what happened when the all-Negro Baptist hurch at Concord was burnt down. he all-white Union Methodist hurch invited the coloured Baptists join in their worship and gave the ext Sunday's offering to help rebuild e destroyed church. Next Sunday ie church was crowded out by a ixed congregation of 1,200, while out 1,000 others listened to the rvice over a loudspeaker in the djoining Sunday school. Dr. Taylor, xpressing the gratitude of the Negro ongregation, said: "It is indeed a ty it was necessary to burn down a church to get acquainted." And this was in a northern state.

Young Miners' Conference

In connection with the European Youth Campaign, the Young Christian Workers' movement of the countries of Western Europe are organising a meeting of young miners for the end of May. It will be held in Lorraine and will bring together working representatives from Belgium, England, Scotland, France, Germany, the Sarr, Holland and Luxembourg. Among various matters to be discussed are immigrant workers, the effect of the Schumann plan on entry into the industry in the different countries affected and the draft of the convention which is to be presented to the I.L.O. Conference later in the year.

Christian Teachers for Independent Schools Overseas

Christian schools in the mission field were generally founded by missionaries but they tend more and more to become independent under their own Board of Governors. This is a healthy development but it means that the schools must now find their own staff. To meet this need the Institute of Christian Education has set up an Overseas Appointments Bureau with the co-operation of nearly all the Protestant Missionary societies. The bureau looks for men and women who have a deep sense of Christian vocation and will help to create a Christian community, but may for one reason or another be unwilling to undertake a life long commitment to a Missionary Society. The Bureau is now seeking at least 25 teachers for schools in Jamaica, West Africa, East and Central Africa, Jordan, India, Singapore and Hong Kong and a number of posts have been filled already. The schools offer renewable contracts for three or four years, generally at Government rates and the address of the bureau is 46, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

Christian Bookshops in Nigeria

About a hundred years ago a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society in Nigeria borrowed £5 from Mission funds to buy books. To-day C.M.S. (Nigeria) Bookshops is the largest bookseller in Nigeria and has over 50 branches. It is registered in Nigeria as a non-profit-making company and it sells books, both religious and secular, stationery and other merchandise of the kind usually sold in modern bookshops. It employs about 20 Europeans who are chosen both for their business competency and for their Christian outlook and has a staff of about 500 Africans.

For long the bookshops were an integral part of the Mission and their European staff were missionaries but the quick growth of the undertaking and the resulting problems made it clear that special treatment was needed. So in 1947 the present company was formed. Direction is in the hands of a Managing Committee in London which has the services of some very experienced business men and is advised by two local committees in Nigeria. At present most of the trade is ineducational supplies of books and stationery to schools, but with the rapid growth of education an expanding African demand for books for general reading must be met. In their choice of books for general sale the servants of the company are conscious that they have a very great responsibility to the people of Nigeria.

Christian Colleges in Asia

In his presidential message to the newly founded Asia Christian Colleges Association, the Archbishop of York writes that the aim of the Association is " the training of Christian men and women for positions of leadership and responsibility " in India and Pakistan Malaya and Hongkong. The Association gives support to Christian Colleges of Medicine, Arts, Science, Agriculture and Teachers' Training; it has already received requests for 50 recruits from Great Britain to take up teaching posts in India and Pakistan in subjects which include Anthropology, Commercial Geography, Economics, English, History, Mathematics, Political Science Biochemistry, Botany, Chemistry, Nutrition, Physics, Ear Nose and Throat Surgery, Pharmacy, Pharmacology, Physiology and General Surgery. The Secretary of the Association is the Rev Noel B. Slater, Annandale, North End Road, London, N.W.11 (SPE 0510).

Marxist Demands in a Nutshell

Some Chinese Christians at a recent meeting which had been called to discuss the " ideological remoulding " of Christians asked: " Which evil thoughts must Christians discard and what true thoughts must they acquire ? "

The answer can be summarised as follows:—

(1) Discard the idea that Christianity is above politics and above class discard, opposition to Soviet Russia and to Communism, fear of and admiration for America, individualism

(2) Destroy the idea that love of country and love of Church cannot co-exist;

(3) Destroy the idea that Christians are on a different footing from the mass of the people. There is no such thing as a Christian standpoint;

(4) Discard the idea that we do not recognise anyone as our enemy and that we have a universal love for all men

Ecumenical Press Service

Book Reviews

'agan Artisans?

The purpose of *The Church and he Artisan To-day*, by Roger Lloyd, ublished by Longman's at 4s. 6d., ; to encourage the Church of Eng- nd to make a new and determined pproach to the urban industrial 'orkers of this country. The author ives as the reason for his concern nat these workers are socially the nost influential group within the ation, while at the same time they re impervious to any appeal the hurch might make.

The author states that short of the stablishment of total industrial ictatorship backed by military force nd prepared to go to the limit of 'ranny, the power of the ordinary 'orking people is unchallengeable. his is a major assumption, but, evertheless, against it a review is ade of the differences between the ocial progress of the workers, as lustrated on the one hand by mproved conditions of life and by articipation in many aspects of the fe of the nation, and the decreasing xtent of their participation in the fe and work of the Church on the ther. In referring to the industrial orkers as the new dominant class e author overlooks a number of ctors. A trade recession in the nited States, for example, can riously affect the industrial workers this country, no matter how rongly they may be organised or ow effectively they might use their ower. Post-war legislation has not nly shown how effective economic anning can be, particularly if the rganised workers co-operate whole- artedly in it, but also that it cannot lely determine the nature of events because of such matters as international trade.

The chapters defining the Welfare State and dealing with the Christian attitude towards it merit study. It is useful to be bluntly reminded that the legislation behind the Welfare State is, in the main, framed on the assumption that human nature is fundamentally virtuous and only accidentally, if at all, corrupt, and to be warned that because of this basic assumption there is a danger to the continued functioning of the Welfare State unless all those who participate in it do so with a complete sense of responsibility.

Roger Lloyd compares the present position of the artisan with that of the woman in the parable whose house had been swept and garnished, and he states that the artisan has lost many of his old loyalties without having gained anything to replace them. The author contends that for every recent improvement in his material lot the artisan thinks he can see a purely material cause and need not look for any spiritual explanation. Expressed in another way, the artisan accepts as a working principle that neither God nor His Church has any particular and discernible relevance to weekday life in, say, Stepney. It is useful for the reader to ask himself how far the attitude depicted in this statement is true within his own knowledge. The purpose of the book is to help in winning the artisan back to loyalty of heart and mind to the truth as it is in Jesus Christ. It points out that this will be neither swift, easy nor cheap, but the price to be paid will be largely shared by the artisan.

JOHN HOLLAND.

Action and Political Philosophy

Lord Acton: *Essays on Church and State.* With an Introduction by Douglas Woodruff. Hollis & Carter. 30s.

G. E. Fasnacht: *Acton's Political Philosophy, An Analysis.* Hollis & Carter. 21s.

G. Himmelfarb: *Lord Acton, A Study in Conscience and Politics.* Routledge & Kegan Paul. 21s.

Lord Acton seems at long last to have come into his own. The three publications listed above have this in common: they testify to the importance of Acton as our contemporary. As works of scholarship, however, only Miss Himmelfarb's study is beyond praise.

Mr. Woodruff reprints early essays by Acton, adding an informed and solid introduction. His publishers declare on the blurb that the volume "is the first of a collected edition of Acton's writings." Yet it cannot be maintained that Mr. Woodruff's volume has collected *all* Acton's early essays, for important contributions by Acton, e.g., to *The Rambler,* are omitted. The few lines on page 1, in which Mr. Woodruff explains his editorial "principles," are surprisingly vague and inadequate.

Mr. Fasnacht's analysis of Acton's political philosophy suffers from the regrettable defect that he does not clearly differentiate between Acton's own words and his analytical account. In addition, Mr. Fasnacht has decided to give only an account of Acton's thought from 1874 onwards, whereas Miss Himmelfarb gives a profound analysis of the genesis of Acton's political philosophy, firmly embedded in his biographical development. Nor does Mr. Fasnacht's scholarship seem to stand on safe ground: he refers, for instance, on page 185, to Louis Blanc as the author of a work on Heraclitus. Yet it was Ferdinand Lassalle who wrote this work. Nor was Duvergier de Hauranne, whom Mr. Fasnacht mentions on page 162, Abbé de St. Cyran. The latter lived in the 17th century whereas the former was the author, a contemporary of Acton, of a well-known study, in ten volumes, of the parliamentary history of France, a work which Acton ranked even beyond Tocqueville's *Ancien Regime.*

Miss Himmelfarb's book shows a pertinent and lively intelligence; she admirably combines brevity with precision. She notices the great influence of Burke on Acton, without which the original character of Acton's liberal Catholicism cannot be understood. Nor does Miss Himmelfarb fail to see that Acton was, like Tocqueville, a "liberal of a new kind". Yet she is wrong in assuming that Tocqueville did not realise the profound difference in attitude between the historian and the statesman.

The last lines of Miss Himmelfarb's book define Lord Acton as a Liberal with a difference. "Political pessimism of the ordinary variety lends itself to a philosophy of *Realpolitik.* If man was created in the image of Hobbes . . . he deserves to be ruled in the manner of Machiavelli. Or if not with the heavy hand of a tyrant, then with the hard heart of a *laissez-faire* state, in which beast is permitted to devour beast until there emerges out of the chaos some kind of . . . provisional balance of force . . ." It is in this context that Acton's political philosophy must be placed. "Liberty," writes Miss Himmelfarb, "was no mere social arrangement recommended by its convenience . . . it was the highest ideal of man, the reflection of his divinity."

J. P. MAYER.

News from Russia

.P.I. Survey No. II. The News from Russia. Published by the International Press Institute, Zurich, 1952.

Visa to Moscow. By Michel Gordey. Victor Gollancz, Ltd. 21s.

The setting up of an International Press Institute at Zurich in 1951 reflects the concern felt by press men all over the free world for their professional responsibility.

The institute has now issued an examination of news about the Soviet Union based upon opinions supplied confidentially by "correspondents who have served in Moscow, editors and foreign editors and specialists who interpret Soviet affairs either for newspapers or in academic institutions."

The keynote is that the picture of Russia which we are given is unreal, partly because rival propaganda distorts and suppresses facts, partly because sources of information have been progressively cut off, but still more because very few people have a background which enables them to see what news about Russia really means. It was never easy to report from the Soviet Union but seven or eight years ago it was not altogether impossible. If you knew the language, watched your step and took your time, you could acquire a wide circle of acquaintance among Soviet citizens. But since about 1947 it has been made increasingly hard for foreigners living in Russia to have even the most casual acquaintance with Soviet citizens. Moreover no foreigners are now allowed to travel outside certain strictly limited areas, the censorship of foreign correspondents' messages has become ludicrous in its caution and the exchange rate for foreign currency is fixed so high that it costs about £300 a week to keep a correspondent in Moscow. Very few papers think it worth doing this and the state of our knowledge of Russia is far worse even than it was a few years ago, when you could, after all, avoid the censorship by telephoning a story to a point outside the U.S.S.R.

Such news as does get out is not so much inaccurate as "insufficient and misleading." "What cannot be fathomed is the attitude of governments and peoples to these facts and happenings. It is here that the real Iron Curtain lies."

News about Russia is hard to get and harder still to interpret but do we make the best use of the opportunities which still remain open? "There is far too much passive acceptance and even imitation in America of Iron Curtain restrictions . . . U.S. Agencies and newspapers do not press constantly for visas," says an American editor.

The Survey concludes that the traditional approach to reporting is inadequate for handling news about Russia. This challenges the press, "both in its sense of responsibility and its capacity for ingenuity." And Mr. Gordey's book is an admirable example of how a good journalist can overcome every obstacle. Neither a Communist nor a die hard, a French journalist speaking perfect Russian, Mr. Gordey spent two months in Russia in 1951. His book which has now appeared in an English translation gives a picture of the Russians as ordinary human beings, adapting themselves to the world as they find it, neither forgetful of the harsh international scene, nor unduly absorbed by politics.

Mr. Gordey is too modest and too realistic to think that he can answer every question, but he makes a penetrating. and informed guess at what the Russians are really thinking. Nothing half so good of its kind has appeared for years.

J. W. L.

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